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Selections.

SKETCH OF W. W. BROWN'S LECTURE.

Tribune's Report.

THE Lecturer commenced by saying it was hardly to be expected that all he would say would be acceptable to the audience, as it came from one of a race who were looked on by a large portion of the race to whom the audience belonged as a *stock*. Still, people who so often assembled to hear the praises of this Republic magnified might sit out an hour while listening to the views of one of the persecuted race. He might, when he, the blackest man in America, speak of the men of the Revolution as "our fathers," because black men stood shoulder to shoulder with whites in the war of Independence and that of 1812. But he could not; there as a representative, by his father, of the slaveholder, and, by his mother, of the slave, and he could speak of the system from bitter experience—as one who had himself worn the chain and suffered under the lash. The lecturer then adverted to the early history of American slavery, and showed by what combination of circumstances it received a place in the new born Republic, how ever repugnant by nature and fatal in prospect to the existence of republican institutions. This Republic (he said) has so far been signally successful as a national power; but, if we look to the principles of liberty, even as stated in the fundamental republican document, it is a failure. He gave instances of the atrocities of the slave trade, in which he had passed a year (being owned by a trader), and been obliged to act as manacled slave driver of his fellow-slaves. In his own town, St. Louis, the city he had the unspeakable pleasure of running away from [applause and laughter], he had seen a husband sold apart from his wife; the husband entreated his new purchaser to buy his wife, but did not succeed; another bought her; he approached her and said, "We can never meet again on earth, but be true to God and we shall meet in heaven." White people pretend to say the black does not feel so acutely as the white—but how do they know? Were they ever black? Let the whites sold for themselves, the blacks for themselves. Such is the system which gives character to the view entertained abroad of this Republic. Mr. Brown referred to Dr. Nehemiah Adams's late work; Dr. A. was in the Southern three months—*he* had been there twenty years. He found many things in the book he could not agree with. Dr. A. mentioned that there was no poor-house for the slave. He had seen a white-headed slave standing at his door, who had not worked for 20 years—he was 100 years old! If Dr. A works till 90, he will like to rest the remaining 10 years, should he live them. He remembered the lecture on the donkey which his master emancipated, and a stalled a portion of hay on, when he was no longer able to bobble about. The American Bible Society has done nothing for the slave; so of the Tract Society. They have limited down all other sins, even to dancing (against which they got out a large tract), but they have no premium for the daily dance of three millions of slaves at the end of the national cowhide. It is the same with all American Associations; and foreign Associations watch and know this well. The lecturer found members of them knowing as much as himself about the doings of the American Associations. Americans are known abroad by their embassadors; two-thirds of these are slave-owners. Stevenson, Embassador to St. James, wished to be introduced to a member of the British Parliament; the member asked him if he was a slave-owner. He answered he was. "Then," said O'Connell, "no slaveholder ever touch my hand!" [Applause.] Soulé, the Legree of Louisiana [applause], and northern men who might as well be slave-owners—such are our representatives abroad; and such men mold our national character—Pierce and lowe, in Windsor Castle and there bangs a picture of Von Hannboldt, in an English sportsman's red coat, holding a whip in one hand and a cap in the other. When the visitor asks the reason of this incongruous combination the explanation is given. The great painter, Lawrence, got hold of Humboldt for a few minutes; he would never have the chance again; he had at hand only a canvass on which he had sketched the body of Lord Liverpool, meaning to add the head when he could get a sitting from his Lordship. On this body he painted Humboldt's head, and shortly after died. The painter dare lay a brush on the canvas Lawrence had filled, and thus Humboldt's magnificent head remains on Liverpool's decrepit body [laughter]. The anomaly furnishes a comparison for American Republicanism: It has a fine face, speaking fairly of freedom, but its practice is a decrepit and decaying body [applause]. I went abroad (said Mr. Brown) an American, and I return an American; I went abroad a Republican and I return one. And I have had opportunities, and made it my business, to understand British life, from the peer to the peasant. I have never spoken against anything in American, when I could possibly write it; I was tender of our national character—the little we had. The middle classes of England, who are the bone and sinew of the country, sympathize with America; but the people have what she gives them no aid in reform; America has sympathy with Ireland, Hungary, Italy—but the sympathy for freedom of a people who hold slaves is no sympathy at all. Oddness and such now are free American institutions; but they cannot be them, because they are blackened with the [illegible] of slavery. When a pro-slavery delegate was sent to Faneuil Hall, he was cheered abroad as being pro-slavery. Does not the national character suffer from such incidents? Assuredly. Hayman, who had flogged a woman in the streets of Vienna, received a sample of English feeling; this shows that the difference is not against Americans, but against any man that would flog a woman—white or black. American feeling sympathized with the drayman. But what service did Hayman do to drays daily in our Southern cities? America invites the oppressed of all nations to come and be oppressed no longer; yet she drives away her own sons and daughters by the scourge of her own power. How dare Americans call this the land of the free and the home of the brave, when Ellen Craft, a white woman, had to flee from it, and seek liberty under a monarchical government? I said (said Mr. B.), to-night, a freeman—not that I owe my freedom to our Declaration of Independence; but a few philanthropic British women paid a sum to the man who called me his property. There was no spot under the stars and stripes where I could stand in safety, till British gold had bought my freedom from American republicanism. I was ashamed of it. I felt ashamed for the reputation and republicanism of my country, and I did not want to sanction slavery so far as to be bought out of it; but I suffered it, because I wished to return and give my assistance to the few noble men who struggle to free our country of this disgrace [applause]. You should be as free to yourselves, to your liberty and to God as the slaveholder is to his system. Do this, and the declaration of Independence, which I have quoted, will be realized, and this will be "the land of the free and the home of the brave" [loud applause].

When the address was concluded, Oliver Johnson asked the permission of the audience to elicit Mr. Brown's testimony on this point: whether the British remonstrances against slavery came from the aristocratic part of the British subjects, and are designed to annoy and embarrass this country; or whether they do not proceed from those who are really republicans, and whose object is to get rid of the strong argument against republicanism which American slavery supplies. He wished to have his testimony on this point, as having had five years' experience of British society in all classes.

Mr. Brown assured the audience that such remonstrances and efforts proceed, for the most part, from that portion of the British people who admire republicanism, and wish for its propagation.

CONSTRUCTIVE TREASON.

IT will be seen that, in addition to T. W. Higginson, Theodore Parker, and others, Wendell Phillips has been held in $1,500 bonds to answer before the United States Court, for complicity in the Burns riot. The only ground for the charge against Mr. Phillips is, that he made a speech in Faneuil Hall, on the evening previous to the attack on the Boston Court-House, denunciatory of the cowardly kidnappers of the poor slave. It is for this speech that he is called to a criminal, by a jury of his countrymen. It is a singular feature in our jurisprudence that, as the theory of constructive treason becomes scouted in Great Britain, it begins to be adopted by parties, and in fashion at home. Castner Hanway, a peaceable Quaker, was ruined, in Pennsylvania, two years ago, in defending himself on a charge of treason, brought against him by the United States, because he did not assist Gorsuch, who attempted to kidnap some negroes, and was shot down in the attempt. The jury acquitted Mr. Hanway; but he was left destitute by his adherence to his faith, before he escaped from the meshes of the law.

Fifty years ago, in Great Britain, men were cast into prison, and transported, for calling George the Third "an old fool" and "tyrant"—for designating the British oligarchy as a "tyrannical combination of oppressors"—and for asking innocuous questions, such as those of *Marathon*, and *Ca-Ira*. Now, *Punch* ridicules with the most *seditious* satire the whole circle of government, from the husband of the Queen to the bench of Bishops, and no one dares to touch him, though the law courts are not against him. While Britain advances in individual liberty and free speech, are we to retrograde? While a Jeffries and Brasfield act, are we to allow political monstrosities in the history of British jurisprudence, are we to present their living examples in the world, and manifest the same spirit of tyranny that they manifested? We have Hallett and Curtiss, seemingly conscious of the fame of the old judicial hatchets of England; and we, apparently, have our legal machinery partly adjusted after the manner of Jeffries the Second; but, we think the pitch juries will not be found so flexible as the Star Chamber at Washington would wish.

The indictment of the Messrs. Parker and Phillips, is certainly a singular phenomenon in Massachusetts. They went to Faneuil Hall to talk to the people about freedom. They awakened echoes with the impassioned eloquence of 1775. They preached the gospel of universal liberty, and were indicted for blasphemy against God and freemen against the oppressor of his brother—the enslaver of man. Their lips were touched with the fire of the Revolution; and the spirit of the Revolution burned in the eloquence through their impassioned utterances. In 1775, their speeches would have obtained for them an apotheosis from the American people; in 1854, they indicted for blasphemy against God. The reason. There is, surely, a singular discrepancy between our traditions and our present legal practice.

Mr. Attorney Hallett seems destined to succeed in one thing, in the course of this prosecution, however much he may fail in the immediate object he has in view. He is likely to succeed in glorifying the Revolution. He will be left with one of the highest virtue, genius and eloquence. He will succeed, also, in producing a wide-spread contempt for the new species of prosecutions at law. *—(Worcester) Mass. Spy.*

SPEECH OF MR. BENTON IN OPPOSITION TO THE RESTORATION OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

THOSE of Mr. Boston's friends and admirers who looked to him as an opponent of Nebraskality, in all its phases, are greatly disappointed at his approval of the inroad of Missourians at the late Kansas election, and his condemnation of the legitimate emigration to the Territory from the North. They may save some tears, however, for future disappointment, on this subject, in various people.

Mr. OLIVER, of Missouri, by request, on Monday of last week, read the following brief speech for Mr. Benton, prepared previous to his leaving the Capitol for the North:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The member from Indiana (Mr. Mace) who made the speech and gave notice of the motion to bring in the bill which gave rise to the discussion, set out with declaring that it was his intention to restore things to what they were twelve months ago—to restore the harmony of feeling in this Union, and in the country, to what it was at the conclusion of the last session of Congress. This is a good intent, and the man who can accomplish it will justly be entitled to the character of a public benefactor; but I do not think the measures he proposes will accomplish this purpose; on the contrary, may make matters worse which are bad enough.

What are his measures? They are, first, to repeal the clause in the Kansas-Nebraska act which abolishes the Missouri Compromise line; secondly, to oppose the admission of the State of Kansas into the Union if she presents herself as a slaveholding State.

Now, I ask, do you think either of these measures advisable, even if practicable; and will give my reasons for that opinion. With respect to the first one, I do not think it could be passed at this session, and its agitation could only disquiet the settlers of Kansas, and perhaps retard its peopling; and with me, the rapid settlement of the territory is an overruling consideration, as promoting the construction of the central road to the Pacific, and a strong protection to emigrants now travelling through the wild domain, without a road of any kind by the government, and exposed to murders and robberies, which the United States no more military posts can neither prevent nor avenge.

The present agitation of the repeal could, therefore, effect no repeal, and might have a bad effect on a section of the Union. Kansas, I know, is looked at as being pro-slavery. Does not the national character suffer from such incidents? Assuredly. Hayman, who had flogged a woman in the streets of Vienna, received a sample of English feeling; this shows that the difference is not against Americans, but against any man that would flog a woman—white or black. American feeling sympathized with the drayman. But what service did Hayman do to drays daily in our Southern cities? America invites the oppressed of all nations to come and be oppressed no longer; yet she drives away her own sons and daughters by the scourge of her own power. How dare Americans call this the land of the free and the home of the brave, when Ellen Craft, a white woman, had to flee from it, and seek liberty under a monarchical government? I said (said Mr. B.), to-night, a freeman—not that I owe my freedom to our Declaration of Independence; but a few philanthropic British women paid a sum to the man who called me his property. There was no spot under the stars and stripes where I could stand in safety, till British gold had bought my freedom from American republicanism. I was ashamed of it. I felt ashamed for the reputation and republicanism of my country, and I did not want to sanction slavery so far as to be bought out of it; but I suffered it, because I wished to return and give my assistance to the few noble men who struggle to free our country of this disgrace [applause]. You should be as free to yourselves, to your liberty and to God as the slaveholder is to his system. Do this, and the declaration of Independence, which I have quoted, will be realized, and this will be "the land of the free and the home of the brave" [loud applause].

When the address was concluded, Oliver Johnson asked the permission of the audience to elicit Mr. Brown's testimony on this point: whether the British remonstrances against slavery came from the aristocratic part of the British subjects, and are designed to annoy and embarrass this country; or whether they do not proceed from those who are really republicans, and whose object is to get rid of the strong argument against republicanism which American slavery supplies. He wished to have his testimony on this point, as having had five years' experience of British society in all classes.

Mr. Brown assured the audience that such remonstrances and efforts proceed, for the most part, from that portion of the British people who admire republicanism, and wish for its propagation.

"If it be asked, what is the cause of the discontent and rebellion among the Southern slaves, and also as the cause of the creation of that disgraceful law which now stands like a great black spot on the code of Virginia, and under which the Legislature is about to emancipate slaves without the consent of the owners. I, an enemy to the extension of slavery, am the chief promoter of that clause. And why? Because foreigners, that is, citizens of other States, had interfered and agitated the country and filled it with a great disturbance; and for the sake of peace and to prevent the continual recurrence of such agitation, I deemed it best (and that became the opinion of the convention) to cut up the evil by the root—to take the subject from the Legislature—and consequently to exclude it from elections; which was done. And the State, under that constitutional inhibition, had been free from the slavery agitation until carried there in the year 1849, and further inflamed by the course of the last session.

I was not a member of the convention which framed the Constitution, but promoted the anti-emancipation clause; and I mention my own case particularly that it may be seen that in the question of slavery, I yet instigated a provision against emancipation, to prevent foreigners from coming to agitate us; and I verily believe, if it had not been for the agitation, that slaves would not have been silent on that subject. This is an insolence of the effects of foreign interference in the same State, and on the same subject; and what I now bring forward is the same interference in that State is only a new manifestation of the feeling which prevailed in the year 1820? And such is human nature in relations of life, both as individuals and communities. At stranger counsels interfere in a family dispute without uniting the family against him, nor in a State dispute without uniting the State against him. What has happened, then, in Kansas, was obliged to happen, and was foreseen by some and deprecated at the time. I condemned that society emigration at the time; and there are members now present to whom I foretold the bad effects of it, and who can bear witness to the fact. If any emigrants came from the free States in the usual way, they would be kindly and respectfully received; but, sent by societies, they would come with ill-will and opposition. And I think the recrimination of my colleague is but a fair set-off to the crimination of the member from Indiana, and this is all I have to say, confining myself, as I do, to the two measures proposed by the member from Indiana, whose propositions and remedies, while applauding his desire to cure the disease, his desire to put an end to agitation, and restore the House and the country to the happy state of harmony and fraternal feeling which prevailed twelve months ago, and which has been so lamentably and, I fear, so durably impaired.

AMALGAMATION AT THE SOUTH.

"I now approach a subject vitally connected with the interests of the South and the welfare of humanity. In doing so, I have no rancour or malice to serve, but boldly speak my mind, and I my Southern sisters a truth which, however they may have learned it by sad experience, has probably never been thus presented to them before. *In this truth is to be found the grand secret of the success of the Abolitionists of the black race.* It therefore becomes important in connection with my narrative. In this truth also lies the grand secret of the discontent and rebellion among the slaves. Let it be, that the Guards concerning the attempt to capture fugitive slaves, I have no patience with men who will so prostitute the high calling of a soldier as to lend themselves to capture such poor creatures as these, whether they be men, women or children. When I took the arms of a soldier, it was not to do such a dishonorable business as negro-hunting—it was not that I might be a slave-catcher, and, before I will submit to degradation, I will lay down my arms. Why, sir, you tell a Southern gentleman that he is a man-stealer, and you mean expect to be horsewhipped, knocked down or shot. He will not submit to such an imputation on his character. Why, then should Northern men, who have no prejudice in favour of slavery, set up as to render themselves justly obnoxious to such imputations? And, especially, why should soldiers, who are always disgraced if they do not protect, and, if they do, degraded by the operation, be so scarcely, helpless women and children—why should they, I say, be expected to join in slave-catching or aiding and protecting slave-catchers? When they do this, as the Governor and Militia have, they have them, I shall tear off my epaulettes, surrender my sword, and shake the dust from my feet—and so, too, will four-fifths of the members of the independent military companies of the city."

We hope to see the spirit of these men imitated by the men who are tendered the Blood-Money by Mayor Smith.—*Boston Telegraph.*

REV. DR. DEWEY'S DISCLAIMER.

WE see it going the rounds of the papers that Rev. Orville Dewey, D. D., in the course of a lecture delivered before the Mercantile Library Association in Boston, on the evening of Oct. 20th, spoke of the recent "Boston Riot" as a fraud, and a "lie" the story extensively circulated that, in his lecture before the same body six years ago, he said he would consign his own mother to slavery to prevent a fugitive from escaping. He has not to have pronounced his disclaimer with the most vehement indignation, as a vindication due to the honour of his name. Yet the Doctor expressly states, in his letter, that he was prevented from the domination of Congress, if we are only to pass under the hands of another set of self-constituted rulers, foreign to our soil, and sharing none of our burdens, no matter what may be their virtues or their worth as men and citizens at home. It may be very desirable for gentlemen to live among the comforts of the States, with all the accumulated conveniences and luxuries of an old home, and make an occasional expedition into our territory, to arrange our affairs, instruct our people and public officers, and control our Government. It does not suit us, and I much mistake the people of this territory if they submit to it. One thing I am certain of—that, having sworn to perform the duties of the office of Governor with fidelity, I shall renounce or resist it in friend or foe, and without regard to the locality, the party, the faction or the ism from which it comes.

"Thus much the citizens of Kansas have a right to demand at our hands, and to fail in it would be the boldest dereliction of official duty. We believe that we are competent to govern ourselves; and as we must bear the consequence of our own errors, we claim the right of our own decisions, and must decline any gratuitous help in making them.

"We shall always be glad to see our neighbours across the river as friends and visitors among us, and to meet them on the footing of kindness and hospitality. We shall be still more pleased if they will abandon their present homes and dot our beautiful country with their residences, to contribute to our wealth and prosperity; but until they do the latter, we must respectfully, but determinedly, decline to allow them any participation in regulating our affairs. When that is to be done, we insist that they shall stand aside and permit us to do for ourselves.

"This, gentlemen, with due respect for you personally, is the only reply I shall give to the suggestions in behalf of your meeting relative to the time and manner of taking our census and holding our election.

"Your obedient servant, A. H. REEDER.

"To F. Gwinner, *et al.*"

PIERCE'S DIPLOMACY IN DOMINICA.

WE have received some curious and interesting intelligence relative to the affairs of Dominica. Our advices are to Nov. 25, at which time the conjugal representatives of Messrs. Pierce & Marcy were not in as high a state of diplomatic felicity as might be desired. The treaty contraband and so dead as it was, is on the part of the United States by Gen. Cazneau, and on the part of the Dominican Republic by two special Commissioners appointed for the purpose, had been nullified by the Dominican Government, but the last step of our duplex Embassador (whether of the husband or the wife, or both, we are not informed) was to address a note to the Dominican Minister of Foreign Affairs withdrawing this very hard-got treaty! It was usually been supposed that a contract of that sort, when once duly discussed, agreed upon, signed and sealed, cannot be withdrawn by the agent who framed it, but is thenceforth subject only to the decision of their respective governments. However, we must remember that this was before the advent of Messrs. Pierce and Marcy and their application of the doctrine of Woman's Rights to diplomacy. Besides, we must not expect men of genius so original to be controlled by old-fangled notions and the obsolete routine of less brilliant statesmen.

In justice to both Mrs. and Mr. Cazneau, it must be stated that this attempt to withdraw the treaty was ordered by no less a personage than Mr. Secretary Marcy himself. When the news went reached Washington, it was found that Mrs. Cazneau had, by some oversight, or possibly by some impulse of feminine but undiplomatic generosity, made the provisions authorizing the settlement and residence of American citizens in Dominica, and guaranteeing to Americans in that country all the privileges conferred on subjects of most favoured nations, reciprocally binding on the American Government with respect to Dominicans. Thus we are bound by this treaty to allow the blacks of Dominica every privilege and right in any part of the United States that we grant to any white foreigner. Along with this liberal provision it was found that a liberal article on the Bay of Samana is secured to us; but this was not enough to commend the treaty, and to allay the fears of abolition and amalgamation which it caused at once in the bosom of Mr. Marcy, who determined to withhold it from the Senate, and to have the Embassador attempt to take it back if possible.

It seems, however, that there are serious obstacles in Dominica to the accomplishment of this natural wish on the part of our cautious but innovating Secretary. These obstacles the daring mind of Mrs. Cazneau proposed to overcome in a manner which would do no discredit to any feminine diplomat ever heard of in history. The Congress is in the way; very well, abolish it! This is the device. A *coup d'etat*, endowing the President of the Republic with dictatorial powers, is accordingly, being prepared by the fertile mind of Mr. Marcy's female plenipotentiary. What a splendid position—what a delicious vortex of revolutionary intrigue for a strong-minded woman to revel in! Who would not envy such an opportunity of enjoyment and of glory? Who would not wish to be the American Secretary of State, to which such a female sympathizer in the progress of such a delicate affair? And when at last the work is accomplished, and the Dominican Constitution overthrown, when the new Dictator has set his foot on the neck of the people, and the American people are at liberty to steal Dominica without any danger of the "niggers" of Dominica stealing the United States, what a sense of triumphant exultation will thrill through the souls of President Pierce, Mr. Marcy, and Mrs. and Mr. Cazneau! They will then have a foretaste of their own historical immortality, and will know more than to be grateful in the history of diplomacy and annexation. Who said that the age of mighty achievements and of noble passions was gone by? Let him learn the story of this Dominican treaty, and retract the rash assertion.

By way, probably, of varying the labours of this revolutionary plot, Mr. Cazneau has also been engaged in a correspondence with the British and French Consuls, to whom he addressed a protest, based on the Monroe doctrine, we presume, against the interference of European powers with the Dominican Republic upon Dominica. Their replies are said not to have been very complimentary or flattering to our Envoy. About the same time, three French ships-of-war (the frigate Penelope, the brig Oreste and the steamer La Sarthe) arrived in the city, and did a Spanish war-steamer (Francisco de Asis), bearing an agent of the Spanish Government, while some British men-of-war were daily expected. Here, then, Gen. Cazneau found himself before the Consulate and hoisted the star-spangled banner, as an indication of the presence of the American diplomatic representatives. And there we will take leave of the Dominican affair, and accompany Mr. Pierce and his Secretary on the splendours of their diplomacy generally, and especially on its unequalled brilliancy in St. Domingo. It has become usual for the vulgar to describe small things by the slangish epithet of "one-horse" thus the late Mr. Scroggs, the Know-Nothing candidate for Lieut.-Governor in this State, has been called a "one-horse" man. No more depreciatory epithet can be applied to the Embassy to Dominica: it is emphatically a two-horse Mission.—*Tribune.*

SLAVE-CATCHING IN INDIANA.

From the Chicago Tribune.

A VERY interesting trial under the Fugitive Slave Law has been in progress for three days past, *inter alia*, before the United States District Court, Judge Elisha M. Huntington presiding. It appears Benjamin B. Waterhouse had formerly been indebted to a neighboring fugitive slave, which indictment has been quashed. The United States Marshal, by sending to Kentucky, succeeded, it seems, in ascertaining the name of the claimant (which before was unknown), and brought him on to Indianapolis, under process from the United States, to testify; and Waterhouse was retaliated. Mr. Marsh, the Deputy Marshal, then hired the slaveholder to go to Waterhouse (who, it seems, had seen the negroes on their route North), to go with him to Canada and endeavour to find and identify the negroes. This Mr. Fillmore is a brother to the President, and seems to be as desirous of executing the Fugitive Slave law as his illustrious brother was to ruin himself by signing it.

The Indianapolis *Journal*, from which we take these facts, says that the case was given to the Jury on Saturday night last. George W. Julian and E. H. Brackett were for the defence, and the District Attorney, Mr. Wright, for the United States prosecuted, the argument consuming, in all, about nine hours. Mr. Thompson spoke over three hours, much the larger portion of his speech being a regular old-fashioned Democratic speech, having nothing whatever to do with the facts of the case. The Court, judging from the charge, seemed inclined to fall into the same line of argument, taking pains to affirm, as he went along, that the Union could never have been formed without the fugitive clause in the Constitution—an assertion wholly unsupported by historical proof, as Senator Sumner has unanswerably demonstrated.

Some of the positions assumed by the Court as law in the case were these: That the averment in the indictment that the slaves escaped is sufficient, and that it need not allege that it was "without the license and against the will" of the owner; that although the section referred to provides that the harbouring and concealing must be "*so as to prevent the discovery and arrest by the fugitives*," yet it need not be shown that anybody was in pursuit, or that the harbouring, &c., *did* prevent the discovery and arrest, the mere act of *harbouring* being sufficient; that the 3d section of the act of 1793; and, although, in this case, the negro Tom is proved to have belonged to Payne, who had bought him of Dickerson, and to have been left by Payne, at sale, yet the bill of sale need not be produced under the rule requiring the best evidence, it being sufficient to introduce parole evidence of ownership, and that in the case of a negro in possession, proof of title in this prosecution, possession alone is sufficient evidence of ownership, and it is competent to show the possession by secondary proof (that of the son), without proving the loss, destruction or detention of the best evidence; that when a man is once shown to have been a slave, the law presumes him to continue a slave, no matter where he may be found, and that the presumption is incumbent of his owner to his escape; *in others words, a slave in Kentucky, when found in Indiana, where the law presumes every man free, is nevertheless prima facie a slave, and it lies upon the party charging it to controvert that presumption, no proof by the owner of non-consent being required*; that it is not necessary to allege in the indictment the *means* by which the harbouring &c. was effected, that being matter of evidence, and not of allegation; and that Mr. Thompson, who closed the argument, and the Court in its charge, told the jury, in a somewhat depreciatory tone, that if they should find the defendant guilty, there was a discretion in the Court to make the imprisonment *moderate*, and in the county jail, instead of the penitentiary of the State!

The jury, on Tuesday morning (having gone out on Saturday night), returned a verdict of guilty, under the 3d count of the indictment, to which they appended a written recommendation of the defendant to the favorable consideration of the Court, and stating that the evidence was barely sufficient to convict. The Court thereupon assessed upon him a fine of *fifty dollars, and ordered him to be imprisoned one hour, which was endured by remaining in court in the nominal custody of the Marshal till the time expired; and likewise decreed that the government should pay the costs of prosecution*! The remarks of Judge Brackett, the defendant's counsel, and the *Journal* says that it is highly improbable that the defendant would have been convicted if imprisonment in the penitentiary had been the penalty. We cannot attribute the verdict to the earnest and anxious strivings of those who volunteered in getting up the prosecution, hoping thus to be vindicated, in some degree, in their action. Upon the whole, the public will very likely regard the proceeding as a virtual triumph of the defendant, and that the act of 1850 is so odious in its features that even when men are convicted of its violation, there is a controlling indisposition on the part of the people of Indiana to enforce its penalties, and that the case gives Gov. Wright a great triumph to those who think the rigid enforcement of the law necessary to save the Union.

We subjoin the evidence of Mr. Cyrus Fillmore, that the prosecutor was the brother of our Ex-President looks as a "Nigger-Catcher."

SECOND WITNESS—CYRUS FILLMORE.

I am brother to ex-President—live in Lagrange County, Indiana; am acquainted with defendant; in August, '53, was shadowing on the size of a public house in Orland, and some coloured folks with defendant drove up in a two-horse buggy, one of the negroes driving; asked defendant if house on the Underground Railroad; he said, yes, and that he had three fine fellows, and enquired for Captain Barry; I told him of Clark, who was also an Abolitionist, and he finally drove up there; Clark came out when they drove up, but can't say I saw them get out; saw them no more after they drove to Clark's; I was in ten feet of the negroes as the wagon turned in the alley; this was 20th to 25th August, 1853; one hundred and fifty miles from Orland to Detroit; went to Canada with Payne, and found, as I suppose, one of the same negroes; this was the latter part of Clark's time; I heard talk about as Payne did—the same negro, I think, from being a thin, light-coloured negro, and from his having a peculiar nod, or wink, which I had noticed before at Orland; he was pretty near all black; about as black as those we call black here; I would not call him copper-coloured; I might be mistaken in his being the same nigger; I understood Underground Railroad to mean a concern got up to carry off runaway fugitives; defendant lives on the road leading from Union Mills to Fort Wayne.

RE-EXAMINED.

Defendant was going North, he thinks; depends on the road they came in town; might have been fifteen minutes that the wagon stopped; Tom was not driving; noticed the driver the same; Walker was to pay any suppose I was to be paid in addition to expenses.

SPECIMEN OF YANKEE ASSURANCE AND ENGLISH HOSPITALITY.

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN was published in America, was re-published in England and throughout Europe, and in both hemispheres occasioned a great amount of enthusiasm in favour of the poor negro, and against that system which enables one race (white) to enslave and hold in bondage another man (black). There were differences of opinion entertained respecting the merit of the tale, both as regards its construction as a fiction and its truthfulness as a delineation. There was no mistake about the dislike, nay, hatred, of the system of slavery itself. The publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* has not materially altered the position of matters between the Northern and Southern States of America. The relative value and importance of the man (black) and of the man (white) has not appreciably changed. The man (black) is still considered, in the Southern States, to sit down at table with the man (white). He asks still, as a favour, to be allowed to enter the railway car in company with the white. He still, even—he is treated with British scorn from America (Republican) to England (Monarchical and Conservative), must take his breakfast, his lunch, his dinner, not in the saloon of the whites, but alone, or with the other negroes. Yet, *Uncle Tom's Cabin is certainly allowed to go to prayers on the Sabbath with the white.* Oh! magnificent kindness of the white! that he should allow to the black this chance of being saved; it will, doubtless, be properly appreciated.

Well, thus it is; in America the whites of the United States can do as they please, and they exclude the African from any of society; pandering to prejudices of the Yankees, British captains keep their saloons for the exclusive enjoyment of the immaculate whites. The whites and the blacks then land on British ground—the land that nourishes real freedom and true patriotism. And yet in this land of ours, this *England—cradle of Judaism*—Yankee assurance presumes to interfere with our government of the African, and threatens with heavy displeasure the man who shall commit the daring and rash act of putting on an equality the white republican of the States and the ill-used British black.

The story is this: An African, once a slave in the United States, now happily escaped into freedom, is resident at an English hotel in the proprietorship of a man of the utmost respectability, and powerful connections. From his (the black's) suavity of demeanour, the kindness of his manners, and his generally great talents, he becomes deservedly popular. But, he is a black, and he is an object of much attention. The proprietor of this same hotel had a fine American connection (and the Yankees are good customers), and shortly after the commencement of the African, such customer, three Americans arrive and take up their quarters at our hotel. The black has the audacity to do in their presence the same as he had done in other places—he breakfasts as usual in the coffee-room, he dines there, if it is pleasant him, and, in short, sets as if the whites were not superior creatures. Our American whites, displeased, vent their wrath in muttered sentences (heard by the black-sufferer) on the man of money, who, for so far as to show their displeasure by ordering their breakfast in the dining-room, to be far away from the—black man in the coffee-room." Head waiter, thinks it his duty to acquaint the proprietor with these matters. He quietly listens, and says, "Let it be—don't say a word; if they speak to me, I shall know how to answer them." This occurred on Saturday morning. Soon after the landlord is desired by our Republicans to "get rid of that —black man out of the house, or they (the three *white* lovers of *fairness* and freedom) should under-take to do it." Landlord is very reporter

country and to the cause of humanity. The slave-holder commands the purse of the nation and has, what is of greater influence, the distribution of power, and place, and promotion. The needy, the warlicns, the vain, the ambitious, and the unprincipled are always in the public market. The temptation which Webster, with all his unquestionable intellectual greatness, has succumbed to, must be overwhelming to the multitude of inferior minds, who know little of the past, care nothing for the future, and regard only the present. The timidity incident to the spirit of commerce in the North is the ally and constitutes the strength of the institution of the South. Trembling as the slaveholders do at the idea of disunion, they have had the address to make the North believe they are ready and desirous of it, at the same time that every intelligent owner of a slave knows, in his soul, that the arm of the Union withdrawn will be the signal for the final destruction of "the peculiar institution."

But I am entering upon discussion when I only intended an acknowledgment of your politeness, and to assure you how truly and sincerely I am your obliged servant, JOSIAH QUINCY.

Quincy, Oct. 16, 1854.

POLITICAL DESPOTISM OF SLAVERY.

BY CASSIUS M. CLAY.

THE Fifth Lecture of the New York Anti-Slavery Society's Second Annual Course was delivered last evening in the Tabernacle by the Hon. Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky, on the above subject. Notwithstanding the unfavorable state of the weather, the building was thronged. Mr. Clay was loudly applauded on making his appearance.

In introducing Mr. Clay, OLIVER JOHNSON said, he had earned for himself a right to be heard by his having liberated his own slaves, and on the soil of a slave State asserted for himself the freedom of speech and of the press (loud and renewed applause).

Mr. CLAY said it was one of the characteristics of the present time that all opinions, by whatever class entertained, must be subjected to scrutiny and free discussion. There are those who think they have the truth on their side, more especially, court this discussion of their opinions and principles, and he presumed that it was in no different spirit that he had been invited to speak here to-night. He would have preferred to have been invited to speak on a larger theme—Republicanism—for that he considered jeopardied by the same system which upheld slavery. He came to speak of this gloomy picture of the condition of the three-and-a-half millions of American slaves, to ameliorate which affords a field for the widest philanthropy; but the true question was still wider than that of consideration. When, several years since, he was invited, by a portion of the New York Legislature, to speak in this State, he made the extraordinary assertion that the great question of that day is not whether the black races on this continent shall be free or slaves, but whether the white race is to remain free. Is it not so? Mr. Clay drew this distinction between the slaves and the slaves, viz.: The former are, in effect, an oligarchy, and they even go so far as to congratulate themselves on their freedom from the *cmeutes* to which the free States are liable. And this oligarchy in the South is not merely confined to a despotism over the black race; among the whites themselves there are as many class distinctions as in England, and even under the government of the King; the land-owners use their influence to control politics and the press. As an evidence of this he cited the case of the election for members of the Constitutional Convention in Kentucky, when such a number was returned to represent the seven or eight hundred thousand non-slaveholding population. Against this, he and others protested. But the opposing idea was stated by a member of that Convention, who talked of bringing the mechanics and non-slaveholding citizens the wholesome influence of the landlord over the tenant. What he meant may be explained by telling you the state of things among that class, that the non-slaveholder's estate are mechanics—shoemakers, tailors, hatters, &c.—who do the necessary work for the master of the plantation and his slaves. They are told, when an election is about to take place, to vote their own principles, independently; but if they happen to vote against the wishes of the slaveholder who gives them employment, they must pull up stakes and be gone from the place. That is what is meant by this wholesome influence, and more than 2,000,000 native Americans are kept under such dependence. This is the principle of a majority government was abrogated practically. Yet you sympathize with those who make our laws, build our party platforms, and make public opinion. You are so egregiously humbugged! Are you not? or do you begin to understand it? This spirit does not stop there; it goes into the laws and on the statute books of the State of Kentucky. Only two instances of equal tyranny and usurpation of popular rights have occurred in the history of modern civilization. The one was the institution of the Star Chamber in England, and the other of Letters de Cachet in France. The attempt to sustain and carry out the edicts of the one brought the proudest of her monarchs to the block. Yet the American Star Chamber has attempted to establish such a principle, and to punish him who gives a cup of water or a crust of bread to a fellow-being. In the city of Louisville, when an attempt was made to assert this right of hospitality, the mayor of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, the man who made this attempt were met with the revolver and bowie-knife. An attempt was made, also, to obtain the right to vote by ballot, and seven men, so that the opposition of those who fancy they have a right to control votes might be avoided; but this also was denied. No! the "wholesome influence of the landlord over the tenant" must be preserved, and thousands have been driven away from their homes under this persecution. Even the press is shackled in the same way, and only a few of the distinguished men who sit upon its tripod dare to stand up against this despotism. Even the pulpit, where, if anywhere, self-denial should be found, is bound by the same law; from Grace Church and Trinity down to the log-cabin of the West, it is all the same. I was in a place in Boston (said Mr. Clay) I heard a sermon from Theodore Parker (great applause). I saw that he had a vase of flowers in his pulpit, and I thought that the omission was fully equivalent of the view he takes of the Providence who is the father of all the human race, and whose bounties are expressed by all the beautiful sights in Nature. I reverence the individual who could do such a deed, but when your Gardiner Springs and Orville Deweys put themselves in the same rank with the Southern minister who said he would rather allow his own soul to go to perdition than touch the subject of slavery, my abhorrence is excited. Such a soul should, I think, be allowed to go its way (laughter and applause). There is, too, another Northern clergyman who lately undertook to set the Northern conscience at rest with itself—a comfort it greatly needed (laughter and applause). He states that the tendencies and efforts of the slave States were toward emancipation, and that Northern agitation had forced the movement back. This I utterly deny, and I challenge the men who assert it to the proof. Mr. Clay went into some details to show that there were now born in the South any serious steps toward emancipation. He said that, notwithstanding some of the slave laws had been made more severe, the condition of the slaves had been greatly improved since the commencement of the agitation at the North.

From the consideration of the local despotism exercised by slavery, Mr. Clay passed to that which it exercises, or threatens to exercise, over the whole Union. It must be considered that the liberties of any portion of the people are not safe, when the liberties of three-and-a-half millions are trampled under foot. What have we seen since that day? Wars waged to extend the area of slavery; and the monstrous political anomaly has been established, not that the free and slave States should progress together *pari passu*, maintaining a balance of power, but that slavery should assume the supremacy in the States and the administration of the Government! And this has been done with the consent of the so-called free States of the North! What, then, have we to do with slavery? You have calmly and dispassionately sat by while these scenes were enacting. You have also seen the liberty of speech, and of the press, the sacred principle of trial by jury, indictment by Grand Jury and habeas corpus trampled under foot, and still you have nothing to do with it. The rights which we inherited from our British ancestors, and which are to this day inviolate in the British empire—indeed, the violation of which, by the new dynasty, was made a ground of her monarchs to the block, male or female—have been trampled under foot in the Fugitive Slave bill. But we have still nothing to do with the matter. Nay, in respect for the Union, love of peace and admiration of Compromise, you have gone so far in misguided and misdirected conversation (for such it is), as to stand by a law which Daniel Webster pronounced unconstitutional—violating all the rights guaranteed by the Constitution; and not only that, but bringing disrespect upon that "Higher Law," without which there is no stability to any Government, no escape from ultimate confusion in the States. For me, I would prefer to be a subject of Victoria, or Napoleon, or a serf to the Czar, than a servant of this despotic Republics of the South. Do not these things touch you, citizens of New York? Where are your rights South of Mason and Dixon's line? Where is your right of petition? Does the Senate at this day respect it, and give you a hearing when you send in your memorials? Has not the Post-Office been violated, and letters of friendship and affection rudely broken open by those who are in search of information against the lovers of liberty and haters of oppression? Allusion was made to the invasion of Pensacola, and to the attempts to recover Cuba from Spanish despotism in former days, when the South declared the Pearl of the Antilles should not be made a Republic because slavery would be endangered. Objection was made to establishing a Republic in Texas, for the same reason. The Congress of South American Republics, last year, was discouraged from sinister motives; and those countries, then seeking our aid to establish themselves on a sound and liberal basis, have consequently fallen into the hands of barbarism. For that we are responsible. St. Domingo and Liberia were more recent instances to show that the jealousy of the slave institution prevents us from carrying out the Republican idea this nation in respect to our people of the earth. In the late contest of Hungary with Austria and Russia, when our representative, as Kossuth tells us, would have settled the fate of the gallant little nation, whose first act was to free the ambitious Austrian and Russian bayonets behind, without firing a gun, no voice was uttered by us. Her patriots fled across the border to the Mahomedan Sultan, and were protected; and when Russia wages war against the friendly nation for thus affording shelter and safety to the refugees, and England and France fly to the support of the Moslem, where is our sympathy? It is hinted by the official organ, that it is on the side of Russia, and prepared to make an alliance with despotism (sensation).

Mr. Clay next alluded to the Fugitive Slave law, which he had denounced to the face of the slaveholders in Kentucky. He was then asked to argue this law and its principles with the slaveocracy, but he quoted Daniel Webster's declaration in 1850, that such a law was unconstitutional, being a State matter over which Congress had no jurisdiction. Compromises were spoken of; he did not like the word, yet he would compromise a matter of doubtful construction of the Constitution; but a principle of truth, never! (Great applause.) The aggressive spirit is also shown in the passage of slavery into Kansas, dwelling in Minnesota, into the territory that had been consecrated forever to freedom, where they surrounded the polls and used their bowie-knives and pistols. They (asked Mr. C.) has this oligarchic power always been on the subject of foreign despotism? I touch this subject here, because many foreign-born citizens and brothers are in this place, who have been arrayed on the side of despotism! This has been already shown by the action of our Government towards the struggling nationalities. Slavery is not confined to colour; there are white slaves, with eyes as blue and hair as fair as any woman you see. And yet we are troubled with the question—"Why do you come here fussing with your ridiculous ideas about slavery?" What have you to do with slavery? Is this madness, rant, or fanaticism; or is it solemn truth? Senator Toombs, with a candour for which I give him praise, has said he will call the roll of his slaves on Bunker Hill, and ask the question, "What do we that? What are you going to do? [A voice—"Vote!"] While you are practicing the arts of peaceful lives, the question is still the same staring in power. Men of the North, you must either be slaves or make yourselves freemen. You say, "They are Southern men, they are Whigs," but the Czar is only one man, and yet sixty millions bow to his will. You may build marble palaces around you, but unless you have the spirit of freemen, you are no freemen. You may pass up your minds to be governed forever by the South, or you must stand up and vindicate your rights. Do not mind the shibboleth cries of "fanatic" and "I want to dissolve the Union, the readiest way to do it is to show a lack of right spirit. Allow the South to go on in her aggression, and she will become a separate Republic, connected with the States of Central America—and thus will your Northern Union be dissolved by your own acts. Oh! I hate slavery so much for the wrongs it has done myself, nor for the evils it has inflicted on the black race, as for the good it has left undone, the good it will keep undone to future generations. I love our Union and our Constitution—that is the glorious land-mark which I would make my guide; by this I would stand, with Ireland's Northern sons, and the South too. May you take these things seriously into your consideration; and may your prayer be, instead of that motto which is the shield of the true in all lands: "May God defend the right!" (Loud and continued applause.)

Reported for the Evening Telegraph.

INDEPENDENT LECTURES ON SLAVERY.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., the lecturer at Tremont Temple, last evening, was welcomed with the most hearty applause as he came upon the platform, when he commenced his address as follows:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I am asked to speak to you on the subject of slavery. It is a very broad question. To lift but the corner of the dark curtain that shrouds it, will crowd, if it does not trespass far beyond, the hour that you lend me to-night. I ask your patience, therefore, if an Abolitionist, at such an epoch as this, which so unexpectedly has drawn together a crowd like this, after night, with listening thousands to hear a lecture on slavery—if such a one, at such a good time, not coming, but come—should talk to you a little longer than the ordinary measure of time for a lecture. I ask you to keep in your constant recollection that this is no question of ours. It is too large to be the question of any individual; it is too large a question to belong to any party; it concerns us all; it touches our common interest and our common honour.

It is not the question of those who speak to you from this platform, "Shall we dissolve our country," said Edmund Burke, "see to it that you make her worthy to be loved." When Daniel Webster came home from abroad and found that some of States had populated their cities from Europe, he said to the farmers of the West, "I would work these arms to the elbow to wipe off a blot from the remotest corner of my country." If this be our country, if we owe debts of silver and gold, how earnest should be the effort to pay the debt of justice and mercy that we owe to God as well as our fellow-man (applause).

The question of slavery is no question of the South; it is no question of the blacks; it is the question of the right of free speech in Faneuil Hall (applause). We mean to vindicate the right by the laws that are left us; when there are no laws left us, we will go to that higher law that can never be repealed (applause). It is a question whether this great experiment of popular government is successful; whether our institutions, for our father's sake, are to be handed down to our children.

He would not ask what is slavery. They know it was the system that makes a man a thing, that robs him of his wife, of his children, of his soul, and rally robs him of the Gospel, of everything that makes a distinction between man and brute. He would not dwell upon that point, but he would ask you, is that a fit institution to be spoken of in a word, it is the *Slave Power*. That is composed of many elements. What makes Boston submissive to this system? It is that Slave Power which is our government, and which, I fear, will be the first element is property. This first item of money has $2,000,000,000 invested in property in men and women, and recognized by the laws of one-half of this Union. The second element is the money power in this country was then illustrated. To make money is our manifest destiny more than to conquer foreign states. Dr. Johnson described us in describing the character of Scotchmen, who said he would, if you put a dollar on the other side of hell, attempt to get it.

Next there is the political element of the country, which goes to sustain slavery. The political cause go down to grind in the hands of the Politicians, and they never turn their gaze again to the north star. Next there are the parties influenced by that patriotism which always cries out for our country, right or wrong. This comes the pulpit, which is reduced to vassalage. The most influential and fashionable pulpits in our cities are indif ferent, silent, or pro-slavery.

This is not the first anti-slavery crusade. The former ones have failed because the Slave Power which has its roots at the South, has the upas tree and its branches in Mill-street.

The Judge of the Slave Power upon the pulpit, the people should be reminded, was well illustrated by reference to examples from our earliest history to the present time. There is no pro-slavery sentiment at the North which calls slavery a sin as there is in Southern society, which drives the murderer out of its borders. "There are," said he, "men walking in this city who have done a fouler deed than Mat. Ward. They have given to the Southern Slave Power more than death—a man who had a better title to be free than they had; for they were born free—an accident and no merit. But the man under slavery, who has been by act and intention a liberty which he does not see, and who has a right arm to vindicate his claim to it, and has once put his foot on the soil of Massachusetts, has proved a better title than he freedom than the man who was simply born free on the soil (applause). Such a man as that, men that walk your streets have thrust back—I was going to say into the hell of bondage—but he was thrust back into bondage, and it was done by a man who never deserved the name of Judge (applause), since he made up his opinion before he sat in the case. They thrust him into bondage, and they walk your streets still. The public sentiment makes them quit Boston; no public sentiment makes the streets too hot for them to tread. The Slave Commissioner lives among us. His circle takes his hand as freely as it did yesterday. A few Abolitionists give him a cold look and omit to bow to him, if they bowed to him before, but the general community forgets shortly; and those who abetted him were reflected to office in the very city where we stand" (shame, shame).

What right right have we to call ourselves antislavery? None. We have a sort of a qualified anti-slavery, I fear, that does it do? Does it take up Massachusetts by the four corners and shake out the Cotfises and the Lorings? (Applause). I would that I had a drink of water to rinse my lips after pronouncing the name of Edward Loring.

He then discussed at length the character of our government and judged it by the men it produced, taking several samples, examining their public acts with reference to the slave question and coming to the conclusion that since the government had produced no better fruit, there was a necessity for a change. Rather than continue the government as it is, it would be better to dissolve the Union and break the Constitution into tatters. Let the Union be dissolved and the five millions of whites at the South, with three millions of slaves, would find it impossible to sustain slavery long.

He wanted the religious sentiment of the country aroused against the money power and the political power of the country. In State street and the Old South, in the complexion of Faneuil Hall. He wanted a religious sentiment not like that of Dr. Gardiner Spring, of New York, who said he dared not pray that God would break the yoke of the slave for fear he would break the yoke of the Union. There was a Dr. Gardiner Spring, of Newburyport, in 1790, who used to pray that God would overturn and overturn and overturn, till He should come whose right it is to reign, and if in these clergymen of 1790, thongh you dash the Union to pieces. Break this charter in order that the men who tenant the pulpits may read the Gospel of Christ and of Paul. Begin from beginning to end, no matter what happens.

All that the slave asks of us is to stand out of the way, withdraw our pledge to keep the peace on pain of being hung, and we shall be able to return peace and harmony to our country. Let the Constitution gives in proportion to the number of slaves, and then without any agitation here, without any Northern agitation, the slaves would be eaten out of us, God will vindicate the oppressed by the laws of justice which he has founded. Trample under foot your own infinite pledges, and God will visit you with a penalty. Do what you become the abettors of oppression. Stand alone and let no element of the Union bind the slave, and he will right himself.

The lecture was crowded again last evening, and the eloquent speaker, of whose remarks the above is but a broken epitome, was repeatedly and loudly applauded.

HOW LONG, O LORD, SHALL SUCH THINGS BE?

ON Monday evening, sixteen men, women and children came into our city, worn down with fatigue, and sickened by the exposure which they had undergone in travelling through snows and cold winter winds. They were not only poor, but destitute and sought for shelter and food, but that protection and support which they had a right to expect from people who profess to be followers of the meek and lowly Jesus, and which neither Christian nor Algerine refused to give to weary strangers who cast themselves upon their hospitality.

Several of these persons had long passed the meridian of life, and their gray hair and wrinkled faces told that they were near the end of their leaf. For of them were fathers, the same number were mothers, and they all possessed those earnest affections which are alone developed by that circumstance which would entitle them to honour and respect even among heathen. Two were young men, with strong arms and hearts that throbbed for liberty. Two, also, were young girls, just in the bloom of womanhood, who seem to stand before us now, as they did once before, their deep black eyes looking with fearful and earnest, yet confiding inquiry, their lips half parted above their pearly teeth, and their whole lighter frames rich in colour than the orange. Four were little babes, not taken from their mother's breasts, and clinging with instinctive tenacity of life, which stirred the fountains from whence they drew their life. Poor little innocent things! how little did they know that the tears which trickled down upon their faces, as they were torn from the breast of mothers had endured for many long weary days and nights, were that they should not be torn from their breasts and trained up in a physical and moral pollution!

If the angels of heaven, who had never heard of the "Lower Law," could have looked on this little group, how their hearts would have exulted in the contrast between the professed friends of professing Christian people who dwell in this city meet them as they enter it, and welcome them to their protection and hospitality—each one striving to outdo the other in kindness, and in deeds which Christ blessed, saying, "Inasmuch as ye did it unto the least of these, ye did it unto me."

But no! They had to come into the city when it was dark, so that the people should not see by those who were sitting in high places, and who were ready to let loose upon them the bloodhounds of the law. Their arrival was not heralded by the kind whisper of a sister or mother, as if it were a fearful responsibility to know of their presence, and involving one still more fearful to render them the aid which their destitute condition demanded.

But their presence did become known. The bloodhounds, in human shape, were upon their tracks. The Governor of the State, from his high place, had commanded the Military Companies to be ready, with their muskets loaded, bayonets on and cartridges rammed down, and aid the bloodhound minions of Pierce and Douglas, the Marshal and his Deputies, to take and to bind these helpless, weary, worn, and fearful fugitives, and send them—where, and for what?

The men and fathers, who have toiled all their lives for their self-constituted masters, were wanted for a fresh chase. The mothers who had scrubbed, washed, baked, and drudged from infancy, and who had given birth to children that had been taken from them and sold, in order to fill their masters' coffers, were wanted to be driven back to the remainder of their lives, and to give birth to more babes to sell to the cotton field or the libertine, just as the demands of the one or the other required. The children, who had been wanted for slaves, in order that their master's cupidity might be gratified. And the young women, with their full round forms, their bright, orange coloured faces, deep black eyes, pouting lips, and gently curling tresses—but with the bloodhounds so anxious to take *them* for? One was engaged to be married to a person in her own condition, and was, for the sake of her lover, the object of the hunt, because he was in her own condition. But she was not to be permitted to indulge in this limited happiness. A rich debauchee wanted her for *his* purposes, and her master had consented to yield to the magic of his gold. Such, at least, was her brief story. The other one, not less charming in her person, was in danger of a similar sacrifice, and fled. And those babes—helpless little creatures, whom the Saviour requested might be permitted to come unto him, because of such was the kingdom of Heaven—they, too were wanted, that they might be torn from their mother's breasts, and turned over to the auctioneer like so many pigs or calves for the butcher's shambles.

And it was for this that the Governor issued his mandate, and that the National Guards, composed of the Boston City Guards, were armed with the American flag flying, their bayonets set, and their muskets charged with powder and ball, ready to shoot down all persons who might dare to interfere between the bloodhounds and their victims. Brave men! voluntarily becoming parties to the ravishment that was sought to be accomplished—standing by, with their flaring flag, and swords drawn, to compel the victim to submit!

We have not learned words that are sufficiently express our detestation of the men—mankind, forgive the insult!—who would thus lend themselves to the capture of women and little children, that they may be sold to the lowest bidder for physical and moral prostitution! The veriest "bully" of the lowest house of ill fame in the city would be ashamed to engage in such a business. It is an act of cowardice and meanness which, so far as it can be viewed, that it has no parallel even in the history of the brute creation; and if men's spirits prevailed their bodies, the worms that feast and riot with luxury upon the carcass of a dead dog, would turn from the carcasses of these slave-catchers with loathing and disgust.

Had any person asserted that there is a single individual in Chicago who would lend his aid, direct or indirect, in hunting down modest and virtuous young women, that they might be debauched by force, or in tearing little sucking babies from their mother's breasts, to be sold—where, and to whom, God only knows—we would have repelled it as the veriest libel that ever was perpetrated. But, alas! the National Guards—*National?*—God forbid—showed that *they* were infinitely below the point we had thought poor, weak humanity could reach.

But we turn from the contemplation of the subject with a sickened heart, earnestly asking, "How long, O Lord, shall such things be?"—*Chicago Tribune.*

MASSACHUSETTS.

Correspondence of the Evening Post.

BOSTON, December 23, 1854.

THE *Atlas* has published, for the benefit of the Know-Nothings, the law of the State against the taking of extra-judicial oaths, and clearly proves that the new legislature will be composed of men who will have to take an oath in flat contradiction to that which they have taken as members of the lodges. Their position will certainly be a most singular one, swearing to uphold the laws of the State in their capacity of jurors, or representatives, or as members of the executive branch of the government, while owing their places to having violated one of those very laws! This is the inevitable result of the oaths taken in the lodges, of which no positive proof has yet been adduced, though every one believes that they do. It is among the possibilities, that at the next session of the legislature will not be allowed to sit over two months, as it is the intention of the Know-Nothings to rush and dry up the business in the lodges, and rush it through the Senate and House with telegraphic speed. Such action would be called "Hat Popery"! If it were to proceed from any other party—but it will be all proper in men who stand on fealty to Rome as their guiding principle of conduct.

Colonel Benton called Mr. Banks have both managed to offend some of their friends by their recent speeches. It is the speech that Mr. Oliver Wendell Holmes pronounced, "the best" that has given offence. It is called "pro-slavery," and its origin attributed to bad motives. Mr. Banks's speech, in which he expressed a change in the subject of slavery is what is brought against him. This subject is construed to mean that the Know-Nothings are about to become Black Hussars, and will be the successors of the Know-Nothing bloodhounds. Mr. Gardner's "backbone" will probably be tested—as was Mr. Smith's—by the appointment of a Black Hussar. He will be able to hold up the sword of firmness or the shield of integrity. He will be a more considerable man than was Dr. Smith over the "Sable Jagers," which are ever in the pay of the South. I hope that many persons who believed that the "personal liberty" bill was sure to be passed at the next session of the legislature, are would at soon think of looking into Congress itself for some aid in favour of freedom as expecting anything of the kind from a body composed entirely of Know-Nothings. Even Mr. Burlingame has been accused of speaking, in one of his late lectures, in the mildest possible terms of slavery. The American party is a *collusive omnium gentium*, and is likely to find its *Capua* in office.

Wendell Phillips delivered the fourth of the lectures on slavery last Thursday evening. He had a crowded house, and was received with great applause. His lecture was the most eloquent that I have yet heard, and it was delivered without confessing that, in the articles of style and finish, it was not to be beaten; but they consider that the lecture was too long by half, and that it would only come out on the "law and order" side, he might be anything, even district attorney, and get indictments found against other people, instead of being found against him. The Lorings and Cotfises, in connection with talent, is ipe power to get office for the man who possesses it. As for any of the high men, and the aristocrats, who have power to do the work of God for the benefit of man, they are as competent to understand them as a gang of Hottentots would understand a Bacon or a Dante. Mr. Phillips analyzed the elements of the slave power, and showed that the remedy for the evil that exists in our country, lies in the evil, very caustic, and his action, when he expressed a desire for a glass of water, that he might rinse his mouth after having mentioned the Lorings and Cotfises, was altogether indescribable. The remark of one of our evening papers, that few of those who heard Mr. Phillips sympathized with his strong points, is altogether incorrect. Thanks to the repeal of the compromise of 1820 and to the arrest of Burns, there is a very different state of feeling here from what it was when in 1850. Even the Boston Courier sometimes dons, white mourning over it.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DEC. 30, 1854.

TRIFLES AND CONSEQUENCE.

But 'tis strange!
And oftentimes, to win us to our harm,
The instruments of darkness tell us truths;
Win us with honest trifles, to betray us
In deepest consequence.—SHAKESPEARE.

AS is sometimes done in the pulpit, so, now, perhaps, we may do in this other place, say something of the connection between the trifle and consequence. An insurrection had broken out in Scotland during the reign of Duncan; and scarcely was this quelled, when an invasion from the Danes succeeded, to be driven back by the unwearied champions of their country and king. Of the valiant and victorious leaders, Macbeth is preëminent. By the death of Sinel, he has just become thane of Glamis; by the treachery of the thane of Cawdor, degrading him and dooming him to death, he succeeds to his state and title. Before he is apprised of this latter honour, passing, with his companion Banquo, over a blasted heath, he meets three withered forms, wildly attired, savage, unearthly, looking as slightly befit women whose humanity was darkened and distorted by league with infernal powers, who, first to himself, then to his friend, pronounce their threefold prophetic hail. They proclaim Macbeth thane of Glamis, thane of Cawdor, higher than both, destined to be king hereafter. They proclaim Banquo less and greater, never king, but father of kings. The witches vanish from sight of the chieftains; the bewitching words will not follow from souls over which the snare has been thrown. From the secret and dark lags they pass on, in bewildered wonder, until they meet the ministers of the king, receive from the king his new dignity, hailed as thane of Cawdor. Speedy confirmation of the promise which has come to his heart! In the annunciation by the witches of his new dignities,

Two truths are told
As happy prologues to the swelling act
Of the imperial theme.

Amidst the wild and ambitious musings which begin to distract Macbeth, Banquo, not unthought himself, speaks the words of mingled astonishment and admonition, whichat once suggest how strange these things are, and declare how many times darkness can put on light, falsehood can utter truth, and showy promises may betray its to dark issues.

Need the parallels be suggested? Our Republic has had triumphs enough over hostile powers; and each new victory has deepened the intoxication of ambitious pride, and prepared the round spirit for any promise which may be sent forth out of the dim future. No, no promise failed. That free heaths more harven, blasted with heavier curse, scarred by deeper thunder, than ever Macbeth traversed, stretching along the course which our country has pursued, stretching along the course which it seems now determined to run with unchecked speed to the summit of its supposed manifest destiny. We have grown so falsely wise as to dismiss, not the withered witches only, but the living supernal powers, from our practical belief; none the less have we accepted the spirits of darkness winning us by delusive truths; none the less have we taken the instruments which they give us to achieve the seeming good destined to work our harm; none the less have we dreamed to be honest those trifles of outward prosperity, of warlike prowess, of wide extension, by which the demon is betraying us to the deepest consequence of sin, that abysmal gulph into which unwary steps are forever sinking, but from which, once down, they find it such a weary, sometimes hopeless toil to come up. When, O people, will ye be like Macbeth *America!* The promise to thine ear may be kept. *An step by step thou hast risen,* so by larger strides thou mayest mount higher. Thy power, greater than imperial, has already grasped regions almost literally immense, may grasp other regions still, continent and island, and boast them all portions of the grand fabric which thou wouldst rear, under the name of liberty, to thy pride of dominion. What then? Every engine of evil recoils upon itself. The cunning of selfishness comes back to plague the inventor. The airy dagger which leads thee to each new Duncan, its handle no longer toward the hand, but its point and edge toward the heart, pierces at last; no shadow, but hard substance; no phantom, but sharp and girding metal. Believe never the partial truths with which Falsehood lures thee to greatness and ruin; hear rather the voice which promises good only through lowliness and service. A soulless Empire is but a splendid trifle; the true soul is always an imperial energy of God.

We might spread out the thought into a longer sermon, and close it with universal applications. There is, however, only one of these applications which we propose now. The voices of the old withered witchery have sounded out again in the years of our proud and frenzied Republic. South side views of slavery are—reminding us again of the words, which have been growing obsolete under other influences, telling us of the comforts and advantages of slavery. Some of us, forsooth, have not enjoyed the privilege of reading the little book which has now come to soothe our agitations. Even such, however, can hardly fail to have had the whole before us in anticipation. When did we begin to hear of the beneficence which orchisted the coming of Africans to this continent?—of the beautiful relations, personal and domestic, into which they have been introduced by the arrangement?—of the care and kindness with which they are watched over in health and in sickness?—of their easy labours, their bountiful supplies of provision, their songs and dances and frolics, their light tasks by day, their quiet rest by night? If ever husbands and wives are separated, why, they come together and live aware all the time of the liability, and, when severed, will be suffered, if not encouraged, to contract new marriages. If punished, to be sure, they deserve it; and if punishment be too severe, yet this is fault of the individual; not of the system; slavery is not the less Christian because now and then it is abused. Even the best things are exposed to corruption. And then, only consider, they were heathen; they have become, or at least had opportunity to become, Christian. They never heard the Gospel in Africa; preachers, masters, mistresses, declare it to them in America. They knew nothing of the Church in their ancient home; now, many are baptized in their new abodes! How many sit, by themselves, or even by their masters, at the table, or kneel at the altar! They pray, they sing, they exhort, they preach, they rejoice in worship now, they hope for immortal worship in heaven. No weird sisters wind up their charm with such fine words, then wait to hail the tyrant with empty cheer and deceitful truths. No midnight hags there, but ladies and gentlemen, gay and grave, laic and clerical, returned travellers or sojourners, thousands who have spent their three months or their three years, or most of their lives, in the midst of slavery, so know what we can only guess, and are fit to disabuse us of errors and prejudices into which our ignorance has misled us; our ignorance, aided, perhaps, by our infidelity and our irreligion.

Every one is aware that the dark personage who used to be pictured with horns and cloven foot and serpent tail has dropped these unseemly appendages in our days; his head is smooth, sometimes polished; his feet are well-made and elegantly dressed; nothing appears on his back but the fine broadcloth, in front but the reverend or cheerful face and the graceful form. He wages no war with God; the name of Christ falls sweetly from his tongue; he is able to meet with the Church, sometimes, it is said, finding a seat not far from the pulpit, now and then, it has been even whispered, having something to do with the prayer and the sermon. The change goes far. The American Mazeboth does not meet witches amidst thunder on a dreary heath, themselves of a piece with the dreariness and savagery, thin, wasted, frightful forms. They are in the Senate Chamber or the parlour, in all modern places and companies, so nicely arrayed, and of such fine address and speech and manner, that the heroic victim never once dreams of anything fantastical, much less of any blasts from hell coming in these airs of heaven. All hail, America! thou breaker of the sceptres which tyrants wield. All hail, America! thou vanquisher of all foes. All hail, America! thou ruler of the continent, before whom all nations shall do homage. Nothing comes in the prophecy of peace, but this everlasting gratulation. None but the few despised, outcast voices exclaim, Woe to thee, America! a sceptre more grievous than thou hast broken is wielded by thine own despotic hand. Woe to thee, America! the foes to thy true peace are the false friends whom thou holdest to thy bosom. Woe to thee, America! thy dominion shall perish: the shout which has resounded the destruction of other oppressive powers shall burst forth over thee, Babylon is fallen, is fallen! the other burden is lifted off from the great heart of humanity.

This prophetic warning they will not hear. The false greeting they welcome and are rapt withal. They confirm it by those smooth enticing words which palliate or bless their slavery. Really, what are these words? Cunning apologies for obvious sin; boastful excuses of obtrusive pride; painted wrappers covering and decorating, not the mummy, but the rotten, infected, pestilential corpse. If we granted the assertions to be true to the letter, they are simply just such truth as the devil is always ready to speak, a less and collateral truth to build up a great and essential lie. We meddle not with Divine ordination in human sins; we would strive to remove the sins. We meddle not with the beauty which human affections can draw to the worst relations; we would supplant bad relations by good. We meddle not with the kindlier offices of service or of care; we would open the way for unlimited kindness in all the offices of men. We do not think it worth the while to measure the precise quantities of cruelty or of tenderness among the masters: we would simply to elevate the slave into the freedom which shall neither expose him to the one nor insult his manhood by the other. We do not inquire precisely how much or how little Christianity may have done to bless the victim; we wish him to be received and treated according to the spirit and the principles of Christianity. We ask that the masters may confess the Divine Humanity in their slaves; that the Republic may begin to apply the doctrines which it proclaims to the men whom it enthrals; and that the slaves, however virtuous or happy even in their depression, may rise to greater heights of virtue and excellence, through withdrawment of the restraints by which they are now fettered and pressed down. We war with slavery, not with its appendages alone; we war for Freedom, not for comfort only or for so much good as can grow even amidst the incumbrances of slavery. We would present no side issues; why should we be assailed by evasions? Slavery or Freedom, that is the sole point, the single alternative. The despotism of men or the law of the Father—which shall we live to support?

For ourselves, we do not doubt the worst which can be ascribed to slavery as matter of actual fact and occurrence; but the question of this or that enormity we can readily drop as of small moment, knowing that the single word slavery contains in itself the sentence of its own unqualified and everlasting condemnation, and that the nation or the man who tolerates this bears therein the burden which sooner or later reveals its weight in the ruin with which it falls. This, as cause of evil, is prolific and portentous; this, as fact in society, is monstrous and infernal; this, in the consequence to which it leads inevitably, is of deepest import and issue. Compared with it, other evils are but as fractions and parcels, of which this is sum; brought into relations with it as a deed of man—as a moral development of human selfishness and pride and lust—all alleged advantages, if real, not existing from it, but existing in spite of it, are but trifles with which Evil is betraying us to destruction.

THE (LONDON) ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE.

IN the (London) *Empire* of Saturday the 2d inst., we find a long report of the Anti-Slavery Conference, which was held at the London Tavern on the preceding day and continuing proceeding. The meeting was called under the auspices of the British and Foreign A. S. Society, but seems not to have been governed by the narrow and bigoted spirit which has so often characterized the meetings of that Society. On the contrary, the most racy and entertaining part of the proceedings of this Conference seems to have been a discussion on the relation of the British and Foreign Society to the American Anti-Slavery Society, and particularly a speech of Parker Pillsbury's on that subject. Mr. Pillsbury, as we all know, is not apt to withhold counsel or rebuke where he thinks occasion calls for it, and we fancy that some of the older members of the British and Foreign Society must have been astonished at his freedom of speech. Mr. Chamerovzow, the new Secretary of the Society, however, in the course of the debate, remarked, that "to resolution condemning or misrepresenting the American Society had ever, to his knowledge, appeared on the minutes of the Committee; and that they were animated by a desire to receive all Abolitionists to their platform and fellowship." If this may be considered as an official pledge of amity and good feeling it will be cordially responded to, we are sure, by all Abolitionists of the old school, if, at the same time, the allusion to the absence of condematory resolutions from the minutes of the Committee of the British and Foreign Society may be considered as a pledge that the internal spirit of the Society has changed it in past times no longer exists.

The Conference was in session for two days, and at the opening on Wednesday morning among those on the platform were Samuel Gurney, Esq. (who was called to the chair), Major-General Thompson, Messrs. Joseph Sturge, Joseph Cooper, Henry Sterry, Duncan McLaren (late Lord Provost of Edinburg), G. W. Alexander, Charles Gillpin, Josiah Forster, Elihu Burritt, Stephen Bourne (late a shipletary magistrate in Demerara), J. T. Price (Neath), George Thompson (Editor of the *Empire*), Dr. Lushington, Parker Pillsbury (of Boston, Mass.), Victor Schoelcher (late member of the French National Assembly), John Cropper (Liverpool), Dr. Hodgkin, F. C. Adams (of the city of Washington, United States), F. Wheeler and W. Tatham (Rochester), L. A. Chamerovzow, W. Farmer and F. W. Chesson; and the Revs. J. Andrews (of Jamaica), Thos. Henderson (of Demerara), — Cornish (of Jamaica), James Sherman, J. H. Hinton, M. A. Gelston, Dr. Cumming (of Scotland), Dr. Hamer, Dr. Carlisle, W. Tyler, H. Richard, D. Thomas, Dr. Massie, John Kennedy, C. Stovel, W. James (Bristol), H. Solly (Bristol), J. Woodwark (Southampton), and P. Bishop (Liverpool). The following places were represented by delegates, viz.: London, Liverpool, Birmingham, Dublin, Edinburgh, Bristol, Manchester, Leeds, Worcester, Rochester, Oxford, Oxford, Coggeshall, Croydon, Southampton, Wolverhampton, Jamaica, Brighton, Colchester, Swansea, Banbury, Laighton, Woolwich, Washington, U. S. Massachusetts, U. S., and Wakefield.

The first Resolution, and the debate to which it gave rise, took a wide view of the Slavery question the world over, and the duty thereon of British Abolitionists. The speakers seem to have all been animated by a warm zeal, and to feel for the cause of the oppressed as among themselves. The next resolution referred to West India Emancipation, and we copy a portion of the debate that followed, because it gives some striking facts on that subject.

Mr. CORNISH, in the course of a long and able speech, mainly animadverted upon the "trick" which "certain Boston

From our Boston Correspondent.

BO. CLIX.

THE ABOLITIONISTS.—The Correspondent gives the compliments of the season.—He narrowly escapes preaching.—He boasts of his ignorance and bitterness of Mr. Lincoln's Proclamation.—He speaks evil of Republicans and of the Slave Brigade.—Say so to Pay.—The Devil to Pay.—Abolition of hypocrisies.—Sins heavily over.—Self-denying Ordinance not a Law.—Scarlet Dogs and Dirty Puddings.—The Reel and the Shuttle.—The Correspondent confides in Mr. Wendell Phillips's indictment.—And calleth for more.—He knoweth not the Trial by Jury.—And Mr. Phillips's Judge needs betterments thereof.—Mr. Hale's Lecture thereon.—Mr. Phillips's Gilt-edged Reputation paid to the—Anti-Slavery at a premium.—The Boston Bazaar—Its success, &c., &c., &c.

BOSTON, DEC. 25, 1864.

A MERRY Christmas to ye both! And a many! It is not over merry here this morning, as far as the weather goes. The walking is most fiendish and the avalanches from the housetops would put those of the mere Alps to the blush. However, we will be as merry as we honestly may under the circumstances of the day and of the country—and of the world, we might add, if it be not getting off the platform. But it does seem rather premature to be rejoicing over the birthday of the Prince of Peace, when America is engaged as her main profession in keeping guard over a nation of captives grinding in chains, and all Europe is busy either in cutting each other's throats or getting ready for that fraternal duty, and all in the most furious and demoralized frame of mind! However, the world is but semi-civilized yet, and it must work out its own civilization as well as its own salvation, through much tribulation. And it must reject those who are sent to civilize or save it, if, indeed, true civilization be anything more than another word for true Christianity. But I must take care, or I shall be preaching a Christmas sermon, instead of writing a letter.

I wrote to you last when the nomination of the Know-Nothings for Mayor had just transpired. My prophecy could not but too true when she foretold that their choice would fall on Mayor Smith. It was not done without causing trouble in the camp, and a large defection at the polls. Had the Whigs made as strong a rally as they might have done, the disgrace of putting the city again into the hands of that mountebank would have been spared it. Not that she deserved anything better; but, in such a case as this, one would have been content that she should have it her own she deserved. But the Whigs were so ill-hearted by the *licking* they got at the State Election, that they had not the spirit to offer what resistance they could, and which would have been effectual. Even as it was, Dr. Smith's vote is washed out that Gov. Gardner by some thousands, and short even of his own, last year, by several hundreds. There are enough, however, of the genuine Know-Nothings to put the Know-Nothings to the through, with some twelve hundred votes to spare. But it is likely that it was the Sinis Brigade or the Burns Guard, that really decided the day. Of course, they all voted for their Benefactor, in the hope that he might open to them fresh fields of glory and of pay. And, as he, in effect, stated his intention of doing so, without regard to any little obstacles of Law or Constitution in the way, in a speech he made to his friends on the evening of the Election, it is not unlikely that they will have their reward. Will Boston ever be able to clear out the Mayor's Room so that any gentleman can be prevailed on to venture into it? A new Hercules must be hunted up first.

And talking of the Sinis Brigade, it is said that that there was some very comical coquetting on the part of some of them, when President Pierce, like an honest man, as he is, sent them out to take their day's work last May. They seemed really made believe that they didn't mean to take it! Probably, they thought that so exalted a day's sport, and the opportunity of showing their cock's-tails and gingerbread stripes was reward enough, and that it was hardly right to have that and pay too. But you will be glad to learn, that no authentic intelligence has been received that this Self-denying Ordinance became a law unto any of their members. There is good reason to believe that they manfully resisted their scruples as nice and unnecessary, and come to the conclusion that glory was none the less glorious for being gilded with a little of Uncle Sam's coined money. It is not apprehended that any of them came within that category of Natural History spoken of in the proverb, and showed themselves "scarnful dogs that are too proud to eat dirty puddings." Nature was too strong for them. Their instincts led them to the inner sanctum of the conditions of their existence. As they were not too proud to do the dirty work that earned the puddings, there was no earthly (and certainly no heavenly) reason why they should n't eat 'em. So, they gobbled them up, and licked their hungry chops, watering for *more*. By the way, I heard the other day, on what I was assured was good authority, that the *real* officers who were out on that black day were most profoundly sensible of the disgraceful nature of the work they required of them, and deeply mortified at having to render it, while the Brummagem militiamen thought it a fine thing! Such is the difference between the real thing and the sham! Whatever we may think of the profession of arms as a business, it cannot be denied that it does cultivate a nicety in the sense of personal honour, which it would be well for those who ludicrously ape its clothes and air to try to put on with them.

You will have seen that justice has at last overtaken Mr. Wendell Phillips for his part in the Faneuil Hall Treason. We were apprehensive that he might escape, and have the vigilance of Judge Curtis and of Attorney Hallett to thank for the prospect of his condign punishment, as well as for that of his confederates in that crime. We do not understand in these parts, why Mr. George R. Russell who presided on that nefarious occasion, and Dr. Samuel G. Howe, who led the Resolutions, are not included in our Black List. We National Patriots will be looking after Mr. Attorney, if he be thus slothful in well-doing. But as it is said there are *seven* more indictments than have yet appeared, we will yet hope for the best. It is supposed, that as Attorney Hallett, having a Grand Jury after his own heart (a hired-to-law of Judge Curtis being one of them) will have Faneuil Hall presented as a Nuisance, and abated summarily. If they would only utterly destroy it without first removing the Ten Acre Picture of Mr. Webster and his entire contemporary generation, which now disgraces its walls, the incidental blessing would go far towards reconciling us to the main action. The great superiority of this Grand Jury over the last one, which made fun of this solemn business, has led to some consideration of the way in which these bodies are got together. The law of Congress requires that the panel be taken from the entire State; but the Judges having, with great judgment, repealed this law and authorized the Marshal to select such towns as he may think best, the administration of justice is, obviously, much affected thereby. By calling only on Hunker towns which are blessed with National Selectmen, it is clear that a trustworthy selection may be approximately arrived at. Perhaps no better arrangement can be made, until the Judiciary shall have succeeded in entirely polluting those obstacles to National Justice, the greater and lesser juries.

Mr. Hale gave a very fine lecture last Thursday week, on the question of the Jury, in which he presented the fanatical side of that question. I wish he might repeat it in every town in New England, merely that people may see what can be said in behalf of that almost obsolete institution. Last week Wendell Phillips took his turn before the audience gathered by the Anti-Slavery Lecture Committee. The great Tremont Temple was literally as full as it could hold and a little fuller. The sight of such an audience was a spectacle in itself. And to hear its *silence* when Mr. Phillips anatomized the heart of Boston and used Mr. Webster and Mr. Everett as subjects for dissection, and held up Commissioners Loring and Curtis as monstrosities of the morbid anatomy growing out of such a diseased state of the public heart, I say, the silence interrupted only by bursts of applause, was something to listen to. I think it was the cream—*la crème de la crème*—of Mr. Phillips's eloquence, and served up "in a lordly dish." Who would have believed it ten years ago, that one of the largest halls in Boston would be crowded, night after night, with people eager to hear a course of Anti-Slavery Lectures, and should listen to them, as if they were indeed a premium in the market! And this great multitude listening patiently to hear the chiefest pets of Boston held up to public scorn, and the Constitution and the Union cursed and denounced as a Covenant with Death and an Agreement with Hell! Surely, the Abolitionists have laboured altogether in vain.

The Anti-Slavery Bazaar is in the full tide of success. The hall in Winter Street, though not so well proportioned and slightly in itself as the one used of late years in School Street, has the more important virtue of size enough to enable the Bazaar to deploy into line and to show its entire strength. To be sure, all the reinforcements had not arrived from the Allies in the British Islands; but the display from France and the Continent made an admirable show, and we expect the very best reason to take the place that the attacks on the talisman have created. The attendance has been very large, and the receipts for the first week more than on any previous occasion, for the same number of days. But you will have all the particulars up to a later hour than I have knowledge of. And I must stop or lose the post.

D. Y.

From our Cincinnati Correspondent.

Annual Imports of Wine in the United States—Quality of the Wine Produced—Intemperance in Europe—Effects of the General Use of Wine here—Increase of Finance and Trade in the City—Trial of Arrison the Torpedo Man.

CINCINNATI, DECEMBER 15, 1864.

THE consumption of Wine in the United States, though not by any means as general as in Europe, amounts in the aggregate to a large sum. The Imports of this article since 1850 have amounted to from six to seven millions of dollars annually, of which probably three-fourths are of the wines of France. The total amount of our native wines as given in the last two Census returns, shows that little has yet been done, comparatively, towards supplying the demand by home production. The Census of 1840 gave 124,000 gallons as the amount of native wine made in one year. That of 1850 gave 221, 249 which included 60,718 gallons made in California and New Mexico, which had been added to our new Territory in the intervening period. This leaves 160,531 gallons for the portion now belonging to the Union, the yearly average of which is 16,000. This is no doubt below the truth, and since 1850 the production of wine has increased so rapidly in this vicinity, that Ohio alone will have made more in either of the last two years than the whole Union did in 1850.

It is claimed by the producers of our native wines that their general use as a beverage would drive out of use the adulterated foreign wines, of which are strongly alcoholic or adulterated, and diminish greatly the use of ardent spirits, and thus promote efficiently the cause of Temperance. It is said that in the rural wine districts of Germany, France, Italy and Spain where all classes use the produce of their own vineyards, the use of the native wines of this country are similar to the light wines of the Rhine and France, and quite as free from the injurious adulteration of the fruit, and in the process of making the wine, and its subsequent management, an article is now made unrivalled by the European wines for delivery, richness and purity. It is claimed that we can make as good wines in this country as can be made anywhere, and at as low prices.

As to the quality of the wines made in this vicinity, there can be no doubt of their superiority to the greater part of those which are sold and used in wine among us, most of it miserably adulterated or highly intoxicating. So far as such stuff may be superseded by the native wines, the change would be for the better. In this connection, however, several points arise for consideration.

We must call in question the assertion that the wine countries of Europe are really as temperate as represented. It is true that travellers in Europe from this country and England have repeatedly borne their testimony to the non-prevalence of drunkenness in wine-growing countries. Dr. Dublin makes statements to this effect, as also does Rev. Mr. Thompson, of New York, who was in Europe a year or two since. Both of these gentlemen are intelligent observers and decided Temperance men. On this subject, however, there is a diversity of testimony, and admitting the fact of there being less open and flagrant intoxication in Europe, the habitual use of wine may be as decisive in its effects on the physical constitution and the morals of the people, as that of ardent spirits. In this side of the question we have the testimony of Mr. Hillard in his "Six Months in Italy," which may well lead us to doubt whether the wines of Europe are as harmless as we have been told. Mr. Hillard says:

"In regard to temperance, I am inclined to think that the inhabitants of Southern Italy, and of the wine-growing countries generally, enjoy a reputation somewhat beyond their deserts. If it is true that it is very rare to see a man absolutely drunk, it is not uncommon to see those who have drunk more than is good for them. But even where excess is avoided the constant use of wine in considerable quantities is unfavorable both to health and good morals; to health, from the febrile and inflammatory state of the system to which it leads, and to good morals, from the irritability of temper and quarrelsome spirit which it induces. If the proportion of the cases of stabbing brought to the Roman hospitals, which occur in or near the wine-shops, could be ascertained, we should see that it would furnish a strong fact wherewith to point the exhortations of a temperance lecturer. There is an added temptation to drink immoderately of wine, from the nature of the usual food of the common people. This being principally vegetable, does not, generally, in quantity, supply the waste of nervous energy, but leaves, even when the appetite is satisfied, a certain dull and undefinable craving, like that which tobacco allays. Wine relieves this sense of flatness and emptiness by the momentary glow and fillip it gives to the languid blood; but the relief thus derived is like the heat of a fire of thorns, and there is thus constant inducement to repeat and increase the remedy. If the common people of Rome and its neighbourhood had the means of procuring and drink less wine, there is little question that their health and morals would be the better for the change."

Mr. Hillard's testimony is corroborated by that of Mr. Cooper, the distinguished American novelist. In one of his works, he says:

"I came to Europe under the impression that there was more drunkenness among us than in any other country, England, perhaps, excepted. A residence of six months in Paris changed my views entirely. You will judge of my surprise when I first saw a platoon of the royal guard, literally a *whole platoon*, staggering drunk, within plain view of their master. From this time I became more observant, and not a day passed that I did not see men, and even women, in the same situation in the open streets. Usually, when the fact was mentioned to Americans, they expressed surprise. They were *too much amused with other sights to regard it*. Some, who had long resided here, offered different notions, and it is easier to float in the current of popular opinion, than to stem it. In two or three instances, I have taken the unbelievers with me into the streets, where I have never failed to convince them of their mistake, in the course of an hour. On one occasion a party of four of us went out, within a mile of the palace, and counted thirteen drunken men, during a walk of an hour. Many of them were so far gone as to be totally unable to walk. I once saw two women literally wallowing in the gutter before my window, a degree of beastly degradation I never witnessed in any other country. I saw more than *twenty men at one time when drunkards did not abound in France*. The official reports show 10,000 cases of *females* arrested for drunkenness in Paris during one year."

A late traveller, writing from Smyrna, thus speaks of the drunkenness of that wine country:

"In the Island of Malta, where common Sicily wine is plentiful and cheap, the most disastrous effects are produced by the use of it. One poor man, a soldier, I attended in prison, and afterwards to the gallows, to which he was condemned, for hooting a sergeant dead, in a fit of intoxication, occasioned by drinking wine. In the vicinity of the wine shops, which abound in Smyrna, you will witness painful evidence of the effects of drinking; it is uncommon to hear of a fierce encounter which terminates in assassination."

The author of "Parisian Sights," published by the Harpers, furnishes incidentally testimony to the same purport. The facts given by these authors are conclusive evidence that men and women become drunk by the use of wine, and that intemperance is as prevalent in wine countries as in England or the United States, where ardent spirits and malt liquors are more generally used is a question of secondary importance.

The fact that wine has everywhere produced intoxication, from the days of Noah to the present; that we are often warned against its use by the sacred writers; that we have the testimony of Patriarchs and Prophets as to its demoralizing effects at a period when the art of distillation was unknown; that it now, as in ancient days, produces "woe, sorrows, babblings, contentions, wounds without cause, redness of eyes," and all the attendant evils of intemperance, is enough to condemn its use as a beverage.

Say what you may about the purity of our native wines, their being the pure gulce of the grape, &c., it cannot be denied that nearly all the wines used heretofore have contained more or less of the intoxicating principle. It is almost impossible to procure an article free from alcohol, and Mr. Longworth's "sparkling Catawba," by his own account, contains it. And just as if American wines come into general use there is no certainty that they will be kept as pure as those Mr. L. and his friends are producing. The same men who import alcoholic wine, and adulterate so great a part of the brandies and wines now sold will do the same with native wines when it becomes their interest to do so. The truth is, those who drink these liquors in this country will not be satisfied with the weak wines of France, or the "ill" wines of Mr. Longworth, but will continue to demand something more exciting and in accordance with the habits they have been accustomed to. I can see no safety, therefore, nor any hopes of the extirpation of intemperance save in adhering to the good total abstinence principle, prohibiting as a beverage any and everything that intoxicates. I might drink nothing but the purest wines and feel no bad effects, but others most certainly would take my example as an encouragement to indulge in things *little stronger* only, and others plead both examples to excuse them in the use of something stronger still, and thus there would be no limits to the common use of wines of the most intoxicating properties. If all kinds of wine but the "pure juice of the grape" were prohibited by law, there would be no temptation to indulging in the grog shop, but even then, it would, I fear, be impossible to prevent adulterations or alcoholic wines being made by all kinds of ingenious evasions of the law. The only safe path for Temperance men is to proscribe wine along with all other kinds of intoxicating beverages.

Financial affairs in this city are still in a disordered state, and the prospect for two or three weeks to come are gloomy enough. Only one of the Private Banks has opened payments this month ago has resumed; currency is scarce; discounts at any rate hard to be obtained; a general want of confidence prevalent, and this at a season when our taxes have to be paid, and large purchases of hogs made. The usual fall rise in the River, which we expect by the middle of November, if not before, has not taken place; we have had a little rain which only gave us a rise of about two feet, and the water is too low to permit shipments by boat. Yet we have no fears, that those who have conspired to produce a great pressure in the money-market, and our principal factories and foundries have been obliged to stop entirely, or turn off a large number of hands. A more gloomy time has not been known here since 1837, and there is no reason to expect it to change much for the better until a general rise in the Western waters, which would give an impulse to every branch of trade, and relieve us greatly, even with the consumption of pork now in our banks. The quantity of produce waiting here for shipment is immense, and designed for such markets that the Railroads now completed do not answer the purposes of transportation.

The trial of Arrison for the murder of Allison and his wife, by means of a Torpedo, or "Infernal Machine," in June last, is in progress here this week, and excites great interest—more so perhaps than any other trial that has occurred here. The Court-room is crowded during the trial by an eager audience. Arrison was tried at Newport a month ago, and was detected by the accidental opening of a letter directed to his brother in this city under a feigned name.

Yours truly, P.

WOODWORTH'S YOUTH CABINET. *D. A. Wood worth, New York—January.* This excellent little Periodical with this No. enters upon the tenth year of its publication. We hope, for them, that it has the sustaining circulation which it certainly deserves. It is a most excellent thing to put in the hands of children, as its editor clearly understands their wants, and their tastes, and answers them most judiciously, in combining in his pages instruction with amusement. The publisher promises that the present number, which is excellent in its letter-press and its illustrations, shall even be improved upon as the year grows older. The only fault that we have to find with it, probably, is, that it should contain a portrait of Barnum and an extract from his work, which, though harmless enough in himself, may be construed into an approval of a Life, which, however successful it has been, and however amusing in its course, is, after all, nothing but the life of a clever charlatan and an unscrupulous adventurer.

ANTHONY BURNS.—The Boston *Telegraph* has positive information that Burns has been sold by Suttle to a North Carolina negro-trader for $700, and that a condition of the sale was that he should not be sold to go North. Suttle, it will be remembered, had been offered, both in Boston and Virginia, $1,400 for Burns, and had refused, though he had previously promised to accept that sum. We very much doubt if such a fellow as Suttle would sacrifice $700, from mere love of revenge; that difference, perhaps, has been made up to him by other parties on the ground that it was a point of Southern honour that Burns should never be redeemed from bondage. So Burns, whose condition Mayor Smith secured, was, probably, sent off to the South-west, to be worked upon a sugar plantation, about the same time that Boston received Smith for Mayor.

DEATH OF ESTHER MOORE.

AT a meeting of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, held Dec. 14th, 1854, the following resolutions were offered by Mary Grew, and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That, in the death of Esther Moore, the anti-slavery cause has lost one of its truest and most earnest advocates, and our coloured population a warm-hearted and self-sacrificing friend.

Resolved, That this Society, while it mourns over the death of one who assisted in its organization, and filled, for many years, its presidential office, rejoices in the blessed memory of the departed, whose ear was ever open to the cry of the fugitive slave, and whose long life of devotion to the cause of human freedom was marked throughout with our mighty what our hands find to do in behalf of the slave, and of our oppressed coloured brethren.

A FIRST-RATE NOVICE.—The Boston *Courier*, one of the most indefatigable traducers of all anti-slavery people, and of the most unscrupulous and bad friends of the negro-drivers, that the North has ever produced, gives the following notice of Wendell Phillips's Lecture in Boston, last week. Of course, the *Courier* would condemn the matter and the spirit of the Lecturer, but that makes it all the more striking, that such praise should be wrung from one who, to serve the cause of slavery, would rival even Dr. Dewey himself:

THE ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURES.—The Tremont Temple, usually so full during this course, was crowded to its utmost capacity on Thursday night, when Wendell Phillips spoke on the Anti-slavery. His subject was the character and extent of the Anti-Slavery feeling in New England, and never was the splendid abilities of this most accomplished and able fanatic more amply displayed than on that occasion. Sentiments the most repugnant to the feelings of every patriot, and to those of moderate minds even to Abolitionists themselves, were absolutely applauded when clothed in the graceful and magnificent diction of the anti-slavery Demosthenes. No pen can describe the gross injustice of the *matter*, or the exquisite felicity of the *manner* with and in which the character of Webster, Everett, Winthrop, and Mr. Commissioner Loring were held up to the hatred and contempt of the vast audience. Copies of the most odious character, copies which in ordinary cases we would have been hissed and pelted for alluding to—topics, such as the dissolution of the Union and the destruction of the Constitution—were spoken of with such exquisite taste and such beauty, that disapprobation of the subject was lost and overwhelmed in admiration of the man. When he said that "he would be had no water of water to rinse his mouth," after mentioning the names of Judge Curtis and Mr. Commissioner Loring—when he declared that Massachusetts should have treated Mr. Everett as Kentucky treated Mat. Ward—when he spoke of a "Yankee with moderate abilities, which nature had doubled by omitting to put a conscience into him," and said that he need not mention the name of Caleb Cushing, when he compared Dr. Gardiner Spring of 1850 with Dr. Gardiner Spring of 1790, and wished the latter back if the Union were destroyed in getting him—the vast hall rang again and again to applause that most fanatical. Prejudice, there has been a great change since 1850, but great as it is, it is insufficient to explain the favour with which Phillips's Lecture was received by an audience such as is seldom collected even in this city. It was *the lecture* of the course thus far, and can be exceeded only by Wendell Phillips himself.

BIT.—A St. Louis Correspondent of the *Evening Post* says, that Missouri has never lost half so many slaves as since the passage of Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska bill. They have been running off, he says, by dozens, their escape encouraged and secured by the growing feeling of estrangement. He adds, and his testimony as that of a resident in a slave State is important:

"Besides all this, it is quite probable Kansas will become a free State, if fairly politically prevented. Whatever may be proclaimed by timid demagogues, this will be more injurious for the interests of Missouri. Our chief staple is the raising of slaves for that vast country westward. The city and southern part of the State will teem with manufactories, and abounds in most valuable minerals, particularly lead, and, consequently, give the difference between the trade of Kansas *free*, with a numerous white population, with villages, schools, churches, small farms and good roads; and Kansas, *slave*, a black population in shanties, consuming a few yards of jean, a straw hat, and a pair of shoes per annum, widely scattered neighbours, no school-house except in towns, parishes of thirty miles square, and no taxes worth the name. Such is the contrast between such a country and our present condition. Such are the two prospects. It is the merest illusion, and so intelligent men understand it, to talk about the necessity of keeping the "cordon of Abolitionists." For well nigh a thousand miles of border we have for a long time been subjected to Kansas outrages, and yet not in half the loss that has taken place since that nullifier let loose the dogs of agitation again. The prospect of a great pecuniary loss is a great thing, and it is against nature to make it so. It is both a climate and a soil to be inhabited by white men, not by negroes. We want no Kansas outrages, but we cannot, and it is against nature to make it so. It is both a climate and a soil to be inhabited by white men, not by negroes. We want no Kansas outrages, but we cannot, and it is against nature to make it so. It is both a climate and a soil to be inhabited by white men, and

PUBLIC NURSERIES IN EUROPE, OR HOMES FOR INFANT CHILDREN.

AMONG the various methods which the practical benevolence of the present day is employing for the removal of the various evils of society, one of the least ostentatious, but not the least important, is the establishment of Public Nurseries, where the children of poor women who are obliged to leave their homes for daily labour, may be received and taken care of during the usual hours of work.

In Europe, under various names, these institutions have within a few years past been very widely established, and everywhere with the most beneficial results. Men of all nations, of all religions and of all classes in society, unite in the approval of so beneficent an object, and although it is but a few years since the first such nursery was opened, many hundreds are now known to be in successful operation. They were commenced in France, ten years ago, under the name of *Crèches* (the same word as our English crib or crib), and they have now in the various departments of that empire, reached the number of about four hundred. They were soon copied in Belgium, where very naturally their comparative importance was little great, but where they have still been productive of much good. Denmark next followed the example of France, and in 1849 a Nursery was thus opened in Copenhagen. Austria was the first Continental State to introduce this novel charity, which it did under the name of *Krippen*, the German word, corresponding to *Crèches*, and one which is always suggestive of the manger or *crib* in which the infant Jesus lay. This particular designation is not approved by every one, and the more formidable title of Säuglings-bewahr-anstalten, or institutions for the care of Nurslings, is by many preferred. The idea of these establishments was received with great favour in Vienna, and already eight of them have been opened in that city alone. In Saxony others may be found at Dresden and Leipsic. The free cities of Hamburgh and Frankfort have also engaged in this benevolent enterprise, and Prussia has made a commencement in Berlin. In London such institutions have been started under the name of public nurseries. Toward the South of Europe they may be found in Milan, and in Rome where his Holiness the Pope has expressed his gracious approval of their objects, and in the North they have entered the dominions of the Czar, and are fairly established in the ancient capital of Moscow.

The literature pertaining to Crèches and Krippen is already quite extended. At the close of this article a list is appended of some of the works which bear upon this subject, and which those who are interested in all its details may be glad to investigate, but for the general reader it will be sufficient here to speak of a few of the more important.

That which is first deserving of mention is the work of Marbeau, entitled *Des Crèches*. To this writer and to his work belongs the credit of originally suggesting the importance of public nurseries. At the time when his book first appeared, it attracted great attention, passing rapidly through various editions, and finally being crowned by the French Academy with the prize of three thousand francs, which is annually awarded by that learned body. The *Bulletin des Crèches*, a periodical which has regularly appeared in Paris since 1846, and is under the editorship of M. Marchean himself, gives almost all information that can be desired concerning the history, progress and management of these institutions, in different cities and countries.

A pamphlet published at Berlin in 1852, by Carl von Salviati, and called "Die Säuglings-bewahr-anstalten," is, on the whole, one of the most interesting and comprehensive publications possible, in regard to the history, objects and formation of the establishments of which it treats. The author, a gentleman of high position in that city, has been exceedingly energetic in awaking the attention of the inhabitants to the subject. An examination of the Krippen in their medical and physiological aspects, by Dr. Liman, with criticisms upon the methods of taking care of the health of the infants, is spoken of in high terms by those who are concerned with the practical administration of such nurseries. Whatever is written by Dr. Helm of Vienna will also be found of great excellence and value.

After so long an account of the general interest now awakened in this subject, some particulars concerning its original suggestion may prove acceptable to the reader. To M. Marbeau, whose name has already been mentioned, is given, by general consent, the credit of having conceived the idea, and of having carried into execution the plan of a public nursery. It was established at a committee in one of the districts of Paris, for the inspection of the infant-schools where children between the ages of two and six years were received, instructed and even educated according to their feeble capacities. He was naturally thus brought into contact with the poor, and one day the question occurred to him what is done with those children, too young for the infant-school, whose mothers are obliged to go out from their houses to daily labour.

The method which he took for answering this question is given in detail in his book Des Crèches. "I took down," he says, "the names of several mothers who were registered in the Poor-book, and began my investigations. It was in Chaillot. Quite at the end of a dirty yard in the rear of the house, I inquired for a Madame Gerard. Gerard. Gerard.